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PROGRAM Arlene Francis at Sardi's STATION WOR
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SENATOR MCCARTHY DISCUSSES CRITICISM OF CIA

(Jean Bach, producer of the program, substituted for Arlene Francis.)

JEAN BACH: In a moment we'll get to the program that was scheduled for today. It's Senator Eugene McCarthy, United States Senator from Minnesota. And he is talking about the material in his book, "The Limits Of Power," that just came out a few days ago.

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Senator McCarthy, the CIA has been in the news so much lately and it's become almost, as far as backing the National Student Associations, and so forth, kind of a joke. But it has had some dire consequences, hasn't it, this power that we don't know about it?

MC CARTHY: Yes, I think so. I think the criticism that was directed at the CIA rests on two or three grounds. One, of course, is the question of whether they are doing things that not even the President knows about, and second is the question of whether they are doing things that he knows about but which they shouldn't do unless they've also been approved by the Congress. And I think the third thing is whether much of what they do is done well.

And leaving out the first two questions, I think that we could point to a number of cases in which simply their operation has not been effective. The judgment, wherever it came from, with reference to Guatemala I think is subject to very severe question.

BACH: What happened there? First we decided that somebody wasn't to our liking and we arranged to get him ...

MC CARTHY: That was pretty much it. And this of course was under Allen Dulles and he likes to take credit for it. I think it was clearly an unconstitutional act in that there was no consultation with Congress, and this was a decision to overthrow the government of another country, without any license or any writ from the Congress.

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It seems to me that this is really the equivalent of declaring war, whether you do it by the capital or whether you do it by hiring mercenaries or by supporting a revolution.

And I think it was probably a mistake. There is no indication that what we did has advanced the cause of stability and order in Guatemala. If we'd allowed the normal course of politics to run in Guatemala, things might be more stable than they now are.

The second place that I suppose is a great blunder is the one in Cuba. There are also some serious questions about the U-2, at least the flying of it at the time that we were making approaches to Russia with reference to some kind of peace or disarmament agreement.

BACH: I guess what made Congress mad was that they never knew about these things until after they happened, and then what resulted was that in case after case all these military groups are the ones that we seem to back.

MC CARTHY: That's right. It relates a little bit to the arms sales problem that we referred to earlier in that almost every country in the world we have a military mission, people representing the Pentagon, and we've also sold arms to them. And one of the arguments that the Defense Department has given for the distribution of arms is that it gives you a hold on the government of the country. And of course if it's a significant grant of arms and it requires training, our military mission can oftentimes become much more important in the country than the diplomatic mission. And their natural disposition, I think, of the military is to support and to render support and to argue in favor of a military junta or takeover whenever a genuine crisis arises.

BACH: Isn't it always a subject of interpretation, too? It's like you're stingy but I'm thrifty, or something. I mean we think of it one way - our justification for going into the Dominican adventure, for instance. Now, you had a whole thing in this book about non-intervention was our theme song at the time, but we explained that we were going in there because we were responding to Communist intervention and that we didn't really start it as a ...

MC CARTHY: That's right. That was an intervention which the Formulations Committee investigated rather thoroughly. Some of what was told us was presented as confidential. It was a little bit difficult to write about it. But the early and public announcement was that we were going in to protect American lives. Then ...

BACH: But how many lives were there?

MC CARTHY: Well, there weren't very many. They weren't endangered because it's rather curious that in these Latin American revolutions over this whole century nearly there's been scarcely any Americans shot unless they went looking for trouble. And this was true in the Dominican Republic as well. As a matter of fact, there was evidence that the revolutionaries took particular pains not to injure any Americans or any foreigners, that it was a very restrained kind of attempt on the government.

Then later on they changed the story somewhat and said that at this point it was intervention to save the Dominican Republic from being taken over by the Communists. I have grave doubt as to whether there was any possibility of that.

BACH: Juan Bosch himself was probably clean, wasn't he?

MC CARTHY: I think he was all right. And it may have been that there was so much chaos at a certain point there's no question but what the Communists became active. But the Communists were taken as much by surprise.

BACH: How should we keep communism at bay in these various countries where the unrest is so noticeable because the conditions are so terrible? How can we ...

MC CARTHY: Well, there's no simple way to do it. I think that if we work at it and try to support democratic regimes if they do take over, or even to the point of being helpful to them as they attempt to take over by proper means - I think we have to run a few chances on communism in some of the countries. The only one it's worked in so far has been Cuba, and it hasn't worked very well there, as a matter of fact. I think our problems in Latin America have been greatly simplified because the Latin Americans have been able to take a look at Cuba. And those who were agitating for communism have a much more difficult case to make to their followers, or to their non-followers now, than they did before the bad example of Cuba existed in Central and Latin America.